A noncartographic view of (second) position phenomena

Jan-Wouter Zwart
University of Groningen

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1. A derivational approach

(1) a. Merge is an assignment operation assigning elements one at a time from the Numeration to the Derivation

    b. Move = Merge (i.e. no internal merge)

    c. Numeration: a grouping of the terms of the output of a derivation

(2) a. A derivation is a sequence of stages

    b. Each stage is an ordered pair

    c. At first merge, the derivation is empty

(3) a. Asymmetry: merge creates $[_{S2}\ a\ [_{S1}\ b\ ]]$, where S = a stage in the derivation, and *a, b* are elements merged

    b. *b* is part of something (S1) that *a* is not part of

    c. *b* is part of everything (S1, S2) that *a* is part of

(4) a. [a [b]] ≡ ⟨a, b⟩

    b. Dependency: in ⟨a, b⟩, *b* is the dependent of *a*

    c. Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA): ⟨a, b⟩ = / a b /

(5) a. A Numeration may contain all kinds of linguistic objects, including words or phrases that are the outputs of previous derivations

    b. Given two derivations D1 and D2, with Numerations N1 and N2, such that the output of D1 is a member of N2, the members of N1 are not members of N2 (a member of N1 is invisible outside D1)

    c. Generalized Integrity Principle: no merge of a term of the output of a previous derivation

(6) a. He is a jack of all trades   Numeration: / he, is, a, [jack of all trades] /
    b. *All trades he is a jack of   *all trades* is not in the numeration (cf. (1b))

2. Verb movement

(7) Second position: the edge of the dependent in the final pair of a derivation (Zwart 2005)

(8) Generalized Integrity (in fact, Lexical Integrity): no head movement to pick up affixes

(9) Evidence for excorporation: a. Barbiers/Koppen facts *bedoel-ik-te*
                                    mean-1SG-PAST 'I meant'
                  b. Roberts (1991): V2 out of verb cluster

(10)   Barbiers & Van Koppen (2005/2007?) analysis:
a.   *-te* is generated in T°
b.   TP is head initial
c.   inversion: V-to-T-to-C, stranding *-te* in T°

(11)   My observations (from Zita, consistent from age 2 up to age 5)

a.   dat bedoel-**d**-ik-**te**   ook
     that   mean-PAST.SG-1SG-PAST.SG   also
     'That's what I meant.'

b.   restriction to 1SG suggests: *-te* = PAST.**1SG**

c.   ⟨ ik ⟶ ⟨ TENSE ⟶ ⟨ dat ook bedoel ⟩ ⟩ ⟩
          1sg   *past*

d.   EMB: *1sg* and *past* realized on V (*ik ... bedoel-de*), no verb movement[1]
     SIMC: *1sg* and *past* realized on V (*ik bedoel-de ...*), V2
     INV: *1sg* and *past* realized on V (*bedoel-de ik*), V2, second realization on T (*-te*)

e.   ⟨ dat   ⟨ bedoelde   ⟨ ik ⟶ ⟨ TENSE ⟶ ⟨ ~~dat~~ ook ~~bedoel~~ ⟩ ⟩ ⟩ ⟩ ⟩
                                  1sg   *past*

f.   pattern follows if the subject's sister must be explicitly marked for 1SG: with the verb gone, a dummy 1SG.PAST marker *-te* is inserted as a positional dependency marker for the subject's sister

(12)   Re: Roberts (1991): growing consensus that verb clustering involves XP-movement instead of head movement (Zwart 1996, Haegeman 1998, Hinterhölzl 2000, Koopman & Szabolcsi 2000).

(13)   Inflected verbs are outputs of previous derivations, hence opaque.

3. Inflection

(14)   Agreement: inherent on subject, derived on verb

(15)   Zwart (2006): ⟨ subject$_{3SG}$, ⟶ [predicate]$_{3SG}$ ⟩ (feature sharing)
                                  3SG

(16)   Agreement may be realized on various terms of the predicate, including the verb

(17)   Verbs are not inflected for agreement in the Numeration, morphology = spell-out

(18)   Tense: a property of the clause, not of the verb (contra Koeneman 2002)

(19)   Koeneman (2002): verb externalizes from VP and projects Tense from there

(20)   Problem: tense in infinitives

a.   John claims [to **have been**/***be** asleep *when I came in*]
b.   John **was**/***is** asleep *when I came in*

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[1]   EMB = embedded clause, SIMC = subject initial main clause, INV = subject-verb inversion main clause

(21) Morphological adjustment of the verb to express cotemporaneity with a reference point in the past (*when I came in*)

(22) Tense is not a function of finiteness, hence not an inherent property of finite verbs

(23) Dutch: tense/agreement realized on the verb, regardless its position

    a. ...dat   wij in het bos   wandel-d-en
       that   we in the forest   walk-PAST-PL
       '.. that we walked in the forest.'

    b. Wij   wandel-d-en   in het bos
       we   walk-PAST-PL   in the forest
       'We walked in the forest.'

(24) ⟨ we ⟶ ⟨ TENSE ⟶ ⟨ in the forest, walked ⟩ ⟩ ⟩
          PL   PAST

(25) Mirror principle: timing of feature sharing operations reflected in the order of inflectional morphemes.

(26) In order to realize tense/agreement, a verb does not need to move to T/Agr.

(27) Kayne/Hallman analysis of verb final clauses (Hallman 2000, Kayne 1994:52, Barbiers/Koppen):

    [subject   [$_{XP}$ ... object ...]   verb-AgrS/T° [$_{VP}$ __ __]]
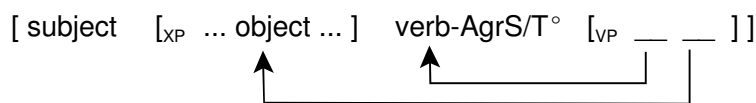
(28) A negative-marked verb need not be in Neg (contra Haegeman 2000):

    a. ...da   Valère dienen boek   nie en-kent   (West Flemish)
       that   Valery that book   not NEG-know:3SG

    b.   ⟨ NEG ⟶ ⟨ ... kent ... ⟩ ⟩
               negative

    c. negative concord: multiple realization of [negative]

       ...da   Valère van **nie**mand **nie**   ketent   **en**-was   (West Flemish)
       that   Valery of noone   not content   NEG-was
       '..that Valery was not pleased with anyone.'

    d. Jespersen cycle (Jespersen 1917): changes in [negative] realization

       ne > ne oenum > non > ne > ne pas > pas

    e. There is no spec-head agreement for [NEG], i.e. no Neg-Criterion > no NegP

(29) Adverbial notions (Cinque 1999)

    a. evaluative > modal > aspectual > temporal > manner

    b. ADV$_1$ ADV$_2$ ADV$_3$ V-adv3-adv2-adv1

c. ex. modal > temporal

   i   He *probably did* not go ADV_1 ADV_2

   ii anti-ci   re'an-*aha-kon*   V-adv2-adv1   (Garo)
       market-to go-PAST-PROB
       'I think he went to the market.'   (Bybee 1985:180)

d. [AdvP   adverb   Adv° [VP   verb-*adv*]]

e. ⟨ MODAL ——→ ⟨ TENSE ————→ ⟨ anti-ci   re'an ⟩ ⟩ ⟩
          probable   *past*

f. If adverbial notions are operators > no AdvPs > no V-movement to Adv

(30) Dutch: modality expressed by modal verbs

a. Jan   zal   gisteren   vertrokken zijn
    John   will yesterday   leave:PART be:INF
    'John probably left yesterday.'

b. ..dat   Jan   **gisteren**   vertrokken **zal**   zijn
               TEMPORAL   MODAL

c. Cinque order consistently violated in embedded clauses (IJbema 2002)

d. Possible solutions:
   -   AdvP is head-final, *zal* raised to Adv° ☹
   -   AdvP is head-initial, *zal* raised to Adv°, rest moves around it ☹
   -   there is no AdvP, verbal morphology is morphological realization of the adverbial feature acquired by the predicate through feature sharing ☺

(31) Morphosyntactic motivation/trigger for verb second very unclear

(32) Generalization: the element realizing dependent marking features is also the element moving under verb second.

4. Position

(33) Hypothesis: verb second is a positional dependency marking device (Zwart 2005)

(34) *second* position follows naturally

(35) Questions: a. why at the end of the derivation?
                b. why not in the presence of a complementizer?

(36) *Frisian*
a.   Pyt   sei   dat hy my   sjoen **hie**
     Pete   said   that   he me seen   had

b.   Pyt   sei   dat hy **hie**   my   sjoen
     Pete   said   that   he had   me seen

(37) embedded V2: a) no subject cliticization
            b) optional complementizer
            c) no extraction out of complement clause
(De Haan & Weerman 1986)

(38) embedded V2: complement clause is output of a previous derivation

(39) V2 at the conclusion of a derivation: suggests it is an interface effect (morphology)

(40) if so, (35a) is answered
(though not for 'symmetric V2 languages' like Icelandic and Yiddish, and not for V1 languages)

(41) (35b): the facts would follow if the complementizer were an alternative positional dependency marker (i.e. a linker)

(42) same mechanism blocks lexical verb movement in the presence of an auxiliary

(43) What about the verb and complementizer competing for the same *position*, C?

(44) So far, no reference to positions in terms of cartographic labels have been needed

(45) Position defined in terms of merge: the occurrence (sister) of a dependent category

(46) Linkers are dependency markers, so they do not have a position, strictly speaking

(47) Ignoring that, can we say that the verb occupies the same position in a, b:

a. Jan   kust   Marie   b. Waarom   kust   Jan   Marie
   John   kisses Mary   why   kisses John   Mary

(48) a. Yes, because *kust* marks the dependent in the last pair of the derivation
     b. No, because the dependent in question is a sister of the subject in (a) but not in (b)

(49) What about *kust* in a/b and *dat* in c:

c. ...dat   Jan   Marie   kust
   that   John   Mary   kisses

(50) a. *dat* marks the same dependent as *kust* in (47b), but not in (47a)
     b. *dat* does not mark dependency at the last pair of a derivation (taking (c) to be a transparent complement clause)

5. "The verb always leaves TP"

(51) *Wambeek Dutch* (van Craenenbroeck & Haegeman 2007)
a.   ...dan=t   Marie   al   wetj   EMB
      that-OCL   Mary   already   knows   '...that Mary knows (it) already.'

b.   Wenj=t   Marie   al ?   INV
      knows-OCL   Mary   already   'Does Mary already know (it) ?'

c.   Marie   wenj=t   al   (*t=Marie wenj al)   SIMC
      Mary   knows-OCL   already   'Mary knows (it) already.'

(52)   Analysis: if OCL is in C, we have a diagnostic of the position of the verb in SIMC.

(53)   But no evidence that the clitic *has to be* in C (placement is presumably subject to prosodic conditions, hence an interface issue)

(54)   *Similarly*
a.   ..dat   gisteren   Jan   Marie   gekust heeft
        that   yesterday   John   Mary   kissed has

b.   Heeft   gisteren   Jan   Marie   gekust ?
        has   yesterday   John   Mary   kissed

c.   (*Gisteren)   Jan   heeft   Marie   gekust
        yesterday   John   has   Mary   kissed

c.'   Gisteren   heeft   Jan   Marie   gekust
        yesterday   has   John   Mary   kissed

(55)   Analysis: a/b show that order (C—)Adv—Subj is possible; then if Subject were in TP in c, the Adverb should be grammatical in first position

(56)   But the Adverb is grammatical there, but its sister has positional dependency marking through the verb (=c'), unlike in a/b

(57)   From a derivational perspective, no point in relating verb placement to a particular (cartographically defined) position

6. Is there any head movement in narrow syntax?

(58)
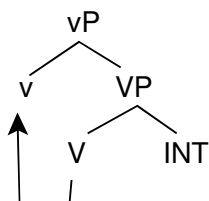
(59)   No excorporation of V or *v* out of the V-*v* complex: V-*v* complex is the output of a previous derivation (created in the syntax of a previous derivation via conflation)

(60)   Possibly just merge of *v* to V (or R), no head movement.

(61)   Question: is there any evidence that *v* and V are members of a larger numeration (i.e., is the independence of *v* and V relevant outside the derivation that creates the *v*-V complex)?

(62)   V1 arguably is not positional dependency marking, hence fundamentally different from V2:

    a. remnant XP-movement
    b. head-to-spec movement (Vicente 2007)